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224 method, deer can be directed toward a "cliff or steep place so that they will have to stop or go down. Someone is stationed below to shoot them if they go down." There is no enthusiasm for running game, however, for it is said to make the meat "darker" and "slimy" and like the flesh of an old animal.

If a hunter is alone and kills a deer, he skins and butchers it immediately,[3] a task which must be done according to prescribed rules:

[193] The Chiricahua have their way for hunting. They follow rules according to the way Child of the Water hunted when he was on earth. He always put the head of his kill to the east. And he never walked in front of it to the east; he never walked past the head when he was skinning or butchering. He never straddled the deer or walked across the carcass as the whites do when butchering a cow.

First skin the side that is up. Begin at the face, cutting down the middle. Continue down the neck and along the center of the body and along the inside of the forefeet and back legs. Always cut through the middle of the joint so there won't be any baggy place when the hide is tanned. Pull the skin off the legs and keep cutting and working it off the rest of the carcass. When the skin is off the top side, cut the flesh along the side, break the ribs, and remove the entrails so as not to spoil the meat. Then turn the carcass over and skin the other side. Cut the sinews so that the lower leg joints are not stiff. They look too much the way a dead person does if they are stiff.

224 When the skin is entirely freed, a further ritual action takes
788 place; this is sometimes simple, sometimes rather elaborate:

When I skin a deer, I brush the body with the skin in the four directions.

After the hide is off and the carcass is lying there, we twice lay the hide on reversed, with the front end of the hide on the back part of the carcass. Then we talk to the deer and say, "When you see me don't be afraid. May I be lucky with
[197] you all the time." This is done twice. In that way you have good luck with the deer and see them all the time.

224 To complete the butchering, the legs are cut off, the backbone is severed at the neck and below the ribs, and the remainder

[201] [3] One informant said: "The wolf call is used in hunting as a signal if you want help after you have made the kill." But another informant thought it would be used only in special cases: "I do not think that calling like a wolf at a kill is general for the Chiricahua. I have been with old men when they killed deer, and they did not do it. A man who knows the ceremony of the wolf might."

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The dance always starts with four men. Four men came from the east to the fire, just as the masked dancers do. They marched abreast in line, not one behind the other. They went around the fire four times like this. Then two got on the south side and two on the north. The singers and the hide that was being beaten were on the west. The four faced each other in two pairs. They danced in place. They danced toward each other, changed sides, turned around, and went back. They did this four times. Then the fun began. Then they sang and everyone shouted. The women from all over made that noise as they do in the big tepee. Now it was anyone's chance to dance who wished to. They didn't crowd forward at first though. 726 535

The other men were dressed just like those first four fellows. They don't paint their faces or decorate themselves especially for the war dance; they come in just plain. Now whoever wanted to dance got out there. They had guns. They put cartridges in. They shot. They said by their actions, "This is the way I'm going to act in the fight." They put cartridges between their fingers. Some put as many as they could in their mouths. [302] [411]

Some men did not dance. They signified their intention of going to war by coming out during the singing and marching around the fire once. It means, "I am going out."

The men doing the dance did not shout. They just made a noise softly under their breath, like, "Wah! Wah!" You can't shout in the war dance or in war. The belief that has been handed down is that, if you shout in battle, many of you will be killed. Those along the sides shout though. [201]

The dance went on. At every song a new set of men came in and the others went out and stood at the side. There were prayers going on over there. Everyone along the side was praying during the dance. When a principal man's name was called, he got out with his men. They get out in squads, sort of. [782]

When just a few were left who hadn't come out, a few fellows who had talked bravely when drinking tiswin, they were called on in the songs by name. All the rest had been dancing and had shown that they were going out. Then they called these last ones by name. They said in the song, "You, So-and-so, many times you have talked bravely. Now brave people at Casas Grandes (or Chihuahua) are calling to you." 726 535 577

If a person who is called like that doesn't come out and make good his boasts, he's considered no man at all. But few men would hold back when they were called like that. They come out the first thing when they hear their names.

When all who were going to the war had danced, every one of them got in there and they all went around the fire four times together, shooting as they went. Then it was all over. 726 535

This dance is also a profound religious experience for the man who takes part in it. "Some who had a spear, hat, and shield made for them through a ceremony danced with them," thus 726 535 782

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551 574 576 757 When she gave it to me, she told me not to use it, for I didn't know the ceremony and would get into trouble.

Later on she met my wife. She told my wife that ordinarily she would not have given me that medicine, that it is very valuable and she doesn't give it away. But I had come like a gentleman. I knew the old customs and how to call her name. I wasn't like so many of the younger people. I had respect for the old customs, and so she gave it to me. Since then I have been pretty good friends with that old woman.

551 To avoid using names, teknonymy, nicknames, and age terms are resorted to in referring to individuals:

You often hear a person spoken of as the father of So-and-so, the mother of So-and-so. The reason for doing this is that it is an easy way to get around calling a person's name, especially before the person or his relatives. A younger person is spoken of through his older relatives too.

I don't know whether I have a nickname. A person's nickname will never be called before him. H. is known as "He Who Wears Glasses." If I say this, everyone knows who I mean. It is a good way of getting out of calling the real name. But though everyone uses it, I doubt that H. even knows about it, and he probably never will.

J. is called "Mexican." Everyone uses this. But he doesn't know it and probably would not like it. But this is not said for meanness. Even some who use polite form to him call him this.

"Old man" is not used like the English "Mr." We never would say "old man" and then add a man's Chiricahua name. The word refers to age or is used so that the name of a person can be avoided. A man goes to a camp looking for another man. He has to let the people there know what he wants. So he says to the wife or whoever is around, "Where is the old man?" They know who he means then, for he's looking for the man of the family.

Lots of people come around looking for my father-in-law. They don't call him by name, for it is very impolite to call a man by his name just for nothing. So they ask for "the old man." Of course, they might mean me if I were absent. My wife would have to take a chance in answering. She could guess pretty well by who it is. If it's someone I know well or go around with, she would know he was looking for me.

201 576 Persons or objects may be indicated by pointing:

If a man asks where another is, the person spoken to is more likely to point with the lips than with the hand. Now old people come in the store and point to objects on the shelves with their lips. Pointing with the hands is really for emphasis and is not considered polite. It should be done only in anger, when you might say, "That man over there!" and point.

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A gesture of mock-seriousness is often seen:

If a person wants to give you a good talking to or wants to emphasize what he is saying, but is just joking, he puts his arms akimbo as he talks. If he pushes the joke too far, you also put your arms akimbo to indicate this. But then you are in earnest and not joking. 201 576

One fellow is always joking with me. When he sees me, even at a distance, he will put his arms akimbo as he comes toward me. Then when we meet he will begin to tell me just what he thinks of me. I kid back at him. I say, "Get that arm down!" and try to knock it down.

If a person is giving you a good talking to or a lot of unwelcome advice, you might say, "All right, go ahead and talk!" and you put your arms akimbo to show that the advice means nothing to you. Or if a person whose opinion you hold to be of little worth suddenly begins to give you advice, you show your surprise that he should talk that way to you by putting your arms akimbo. Then it means, "You've got your nerve!"

If a person takes this posture unconsciously, it is said that he is putting on airs or thinks himself great. This position is taken in imitation of someone who thinks too well of himself.

An informant described how amazement would be shown: 201 152

One time I met C. on the street. "Well," he said, "what's the news?" "There is no news," I told him. "As long as you fellows are satisfied under the government, there is no news. We ought to be free." C. clapped his hand over his mouth.

This story explains when the hand is put over the mouth. I know what C. was thinking. He was thinking, "Oh, what a speech!" It is a sign of amazement used when someone has done the unexpected and has taken you off your feet.

Another time several of us went to sheep camp. We were standing there with our sheep herder. Finally we started to go away. The sheep herder came after us and asked me, "Did you bring me any tobacco?" C. was supposed to take care of this, so I turned to him and asked, "Did you remember the smokes for Chapo?" He clapped his hand to his mouth and held it there a couple of minutes. What he meant was, "By golly, I forgot it!" This illustrates another use of the hand over the mouth.

There is a definite etiquette of visiting:

Suppose somebody is coming to my camp. When he is about fifteen feet away from the door, he clears his throat or coughs loudly to attract attention and let me know he is coming. If I am there with my wife and children, I say, "Here I am. Come in." And when the man sits down politely, the children are already in order. Of a person who walks right in without coughing, we say, "He is not polite." 574 576

Guests usually sit near the door when they come in, although there is no particular place for a visitor to sit. There are many people in there, so they sit

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574 near the door most often because it is the most convenient and unoccupied place.
576 If there is a bed along one side of the home, a visitor doesn't sit there unless he is called and told to.

When you have a visitor, you have to be very careful of how you act. In passing in and out of the house, a person must not touch or press against another person, especially against visitors and strangers. The visitor, in turn, must not let the one who is passing touch him or press against him. To leave your home when you have company is considered very impolite. If you have to leave, you say, "I am going to walk there by you."

574 576 Great politeness is exercised in personal matters between visitors and host:

514 Suppose there are a number of people in my home. We are all interested in some conversation. I'm telling stories or something like that. Perhaps one of the visitors wants to go out and relieve himself. He has to excuse himself. They will know where he is going if he just walks off. So he says, "I have to go out and tend to that horse," or, "I've got my horse hobbled at the foot of the hill over there and I want to chase him toward the water. He hasn't had water all day." Sometimes he hasn't even got a horse there. And another fellow sitting there says, "I have to see about my horse too." And he goes off. Or a person will say, "Well, I have to tend to something!" just as if he suddenly remembered something.

The women make excuses too. They say, "Where have my little ones gone? I'll have to see where they are." That's the way I was taught when I was a child, to make some good excuse.

When two men know each other well, though, if the wife and children are not at home, one will just say to the other, "I am going out."

• 201 576 When visitors are speaking—and, indeed, when any serious discussion is taking place—it is a mark of good manners to indicate attention and interest by murmurs of approval and interjections of encouragement:

If someone is talking in a social gathering or telling a story, to show that you are interested and are a very polished person, you keep saying, "*he, he,*" at intervals. Or you might say "*do'a,*" which is just like saying, "Indeed!" or "Yes, yes, go on!" Women say it slower, "*doya,*" and in a higher-pitched voice. You hear the old people use it all the time.

During a speech by someone, to show that you approve, you nod your head and break in on him, as whites would with applause, saying, "*ao, ao*" [the affirmative expletive] or "Um, um."

HUMOR

522 201 When friends are together, teasing and bantering take place. Misleading or exaggerated statements are followed by a wink "to

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show that the person is joking," or a gesture may take the place of a wink:

The equivalent of a wink is to raise the right hand, palm forward, with first and second fingers up and the thumb over the fourth finger. You say something to a man which you mean only as a joke, like, "Your wife's coming." As he looks, you raise your hand in this way and motion with it toward him for the benefit of others, but, when he looks, you stop.

There are other ways to save face and turn the laugh on a companion:

One way to cover up embarrassment is to stick out the tongue. If you ask a man for something that you don't expect to get, you stick the tongue out when others are looking, but when he doesn't see you. Then, if he turns you down, you don't feel badly about it, for you have shown to the others that you are just fooling anyway and expect to be refused.

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Much of the humor is broad and falls under the caption of practical joking. Putting plants that are irritating to the skin in the bedding of an unsuspecting individual is of this nature. Of one man, it was told: "H. is a great practical joker. You have to watch out for him. He might throw a box in your path. His father was like that, too, always playing practical jokes. You never knew what he was going to do."

But most of the humor is verbal. A man who is considered to be especially good company is described in these words by one of his admirers:

He's about sixty years old. He's very funny. When he gets in a crowd, he always keeps everyone laughing. He just takes the topic of the day or whatever someone is talking about and sees the funny side of it. At the same time he is talking sense. If you think about it, you can get something out of it too.

Imitations, especially of peculiar or foreign characters, are much appreciated. One informant, himself adept at this art, stated:

Some are very good at this. Some can imitate C. [an eccentric character], but I can't. His voice is too high-pitched for me. In Oklahoma I used to imitate a butler, just like I saw in the movies. I would make believe that I was waiting on my father when he wasn't looking, and, when he looked again, I would stop. He didn't know what my sister was laughing about.

Even the pun is not unknown. The term for "leader" is very similar to the word that means "to shake the head." A braggart

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This fear of the expression of evil wishes is an aspect of the belief that what is fervently voiced, for good or for evil, is likely to occur. It is a conception which gives point alike to the faith in the "good words" of ceremonialism and to the dread of "witch talk." 191 195 578

Invective is graduated from those exclamations and phrases which arouse mild resentment to those which are considered unforgivable insults. Rather innocuous, and directed as often at a situation as at a person, is an inexplicable cry of frustration, "Knife and awl!" "You're no good!" is likely to bring a more positive reaction if it is directed at a person. It is a stinging rebuke and challenge to be told, "You're no man!" Quite as insulting is it to tell a person, "You are trashy!" or, "Even though you are trashy, you ought to try to restrain yourself." Serious imprecations which rankle and are keenly resented have to do with death wishes and the underworld. "May an enemy [white man] kill you!" is one of these. The most common of this type is the malediction, "Go to the underworld!" "When some people get angry, they say, 'Go to the underworld!' It's just like telling a person to go to hell. That kind of talk is very bad and strong. People get killed for saying such a thing. You are considered to have a witch mouth if you talk like this." 195 578

Other curses have sexual or scatological implications: "A bad word is one that means 'your excrement!' If you use it to anyone, it will surely make him furious, and he might kill you for it." An incitant to physical violence is the threat, "I'll squeeze you so hard that I'll make your excrement move out!" An abusive phrase which was described as "the dirtiest cuss word in the Chiricahua language" inelegantly labels one's parents witches: "You for whom the witches copulated!" 195 578 831

But, in the eyes of many, the gravest insult is a combined curse and gesture, the ultimate in indignant response of a very angry woman: 195 578 831

> If a woman gets very angry at anyone, she will double up her right fist with the palm up, put her thumb between the first and second fingers, and then open the fingers suddenly in the direction of another person, saying at the same time, "Smell this!" A man dreads this! It's just like shooting a man. It shows contempt. The word refers to her vagina. 201

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195 578 201 But men, too, use this gesture and the same expression upon occasion, and it is still more vitriolic if one man levels it at another:

At Fort Sill in 1910 one man was swearing at another in every way. The other man said nothing that night. The next morning he came up to the one who had cursed him. He was making the woman's gesture of contempt. He said, "You spoke bravely last night. Now let's see what you can do."

They fought. The one who had started the trouble the night before went down. The one on top took dirt and sticks and grass and hit him on the mouth with them saying, "Now you won't use such bad language perhaps!"

When a person is goaded to action by insult or abuse, there is an exclamation that warns of the attack to come:

There is an expression of rage, *"ahagahe!"* It means that a man has stood for as much as he is going to. When you hear that, you know that the man is going for his weapon and will fight it out. The word has no literal meaning.

195 578 562 In keeping with their assertions concerning the greater peevishness of women in comparison to men, a number of male informants have insisted that women are quicker to make use of these inflamatory phrases:

As a general rule in the old days, Chiricahua men didn't curse. The women did most of the cursing. There were very few bad words. Then if you said, "You [177] coyote!" or "Your excrement!" that was very, very bad. Cursing was brought in by the white people. Now the woman doesn't talk that way, and the man does. A big change, isn't it!

ANTISOCIAL CONDUCT

577 771 183 In the eyes of his fellows the moral person is one who heeds the social conventions and discharges his obligations in obedience to the tribal ethic.

[755] Ceremonies for curing are religious. But these have nothing to do with morals. You can have a ceremony performed over you and drink and do what you please.

The Chiricahua religion is directed toward long life, good health, and things like that. In the Chiricahua way, I can't see how religion has anything to do with living right, as long as a person is not a witch and is not trying to use his ceremony for meanness. Religion might be a good thing all right, but I know from experience with my people that it didn't take that to make a person good.

Good conduct is the result of obeying the customs, and it is up to the person. It has nothing to do with religion. A man would come to a bad end in the old days because he violated the customs. It's just a matter of a man looking out for his own welfare. If you obey all the rules, you get along all right in Chiricahua